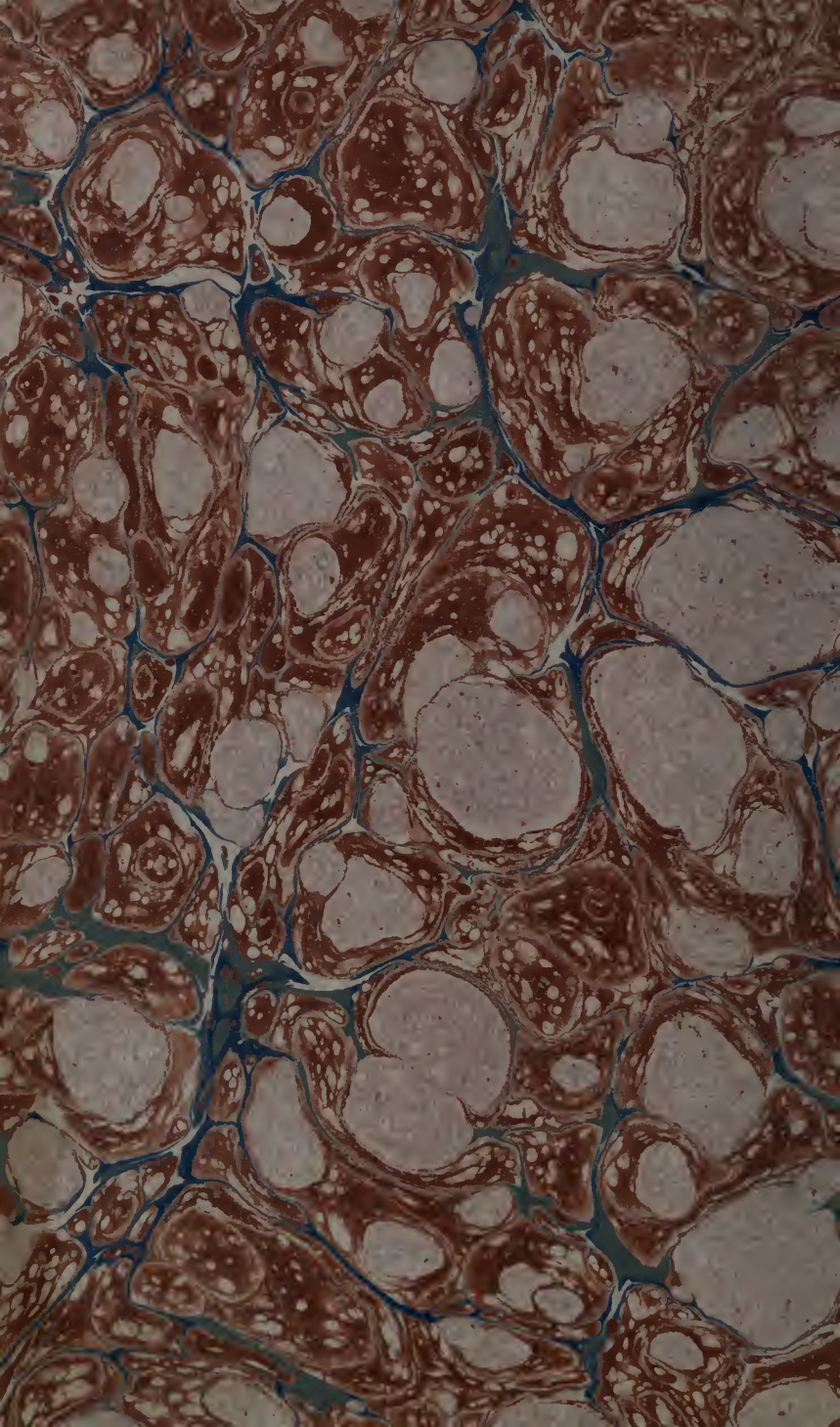
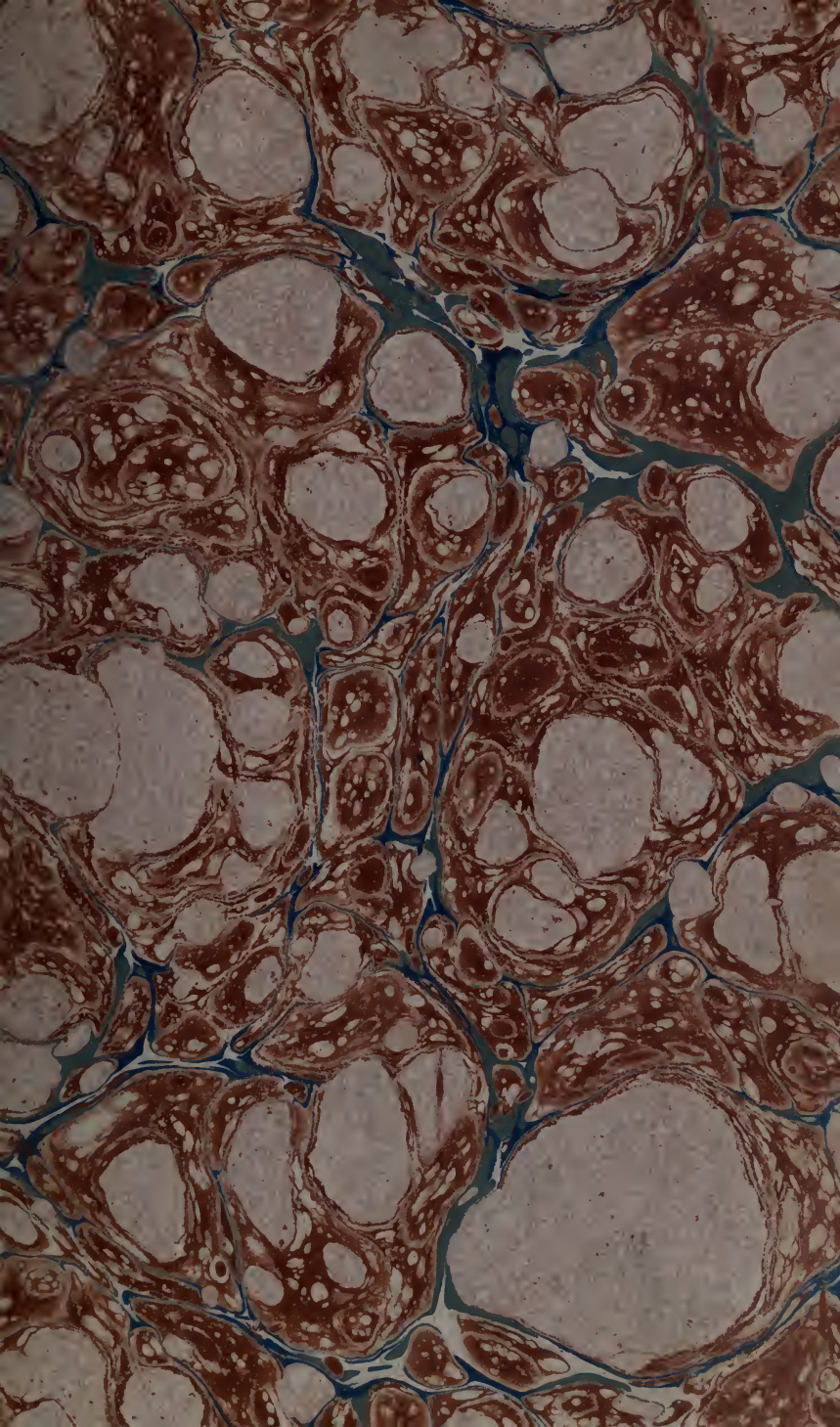








C. S. Condit

A

REVIEW,

of the Catholic

Ec. Ec.

Question

IT must appear a matter of astonishment to every candid, and impartial observer of events, in these enlightened times, to behold the rancour, bigotry, and animosity, with which the claims of catholic emancipation have been opposed.

WERE the catholics of these realms now attempting to subvert the established protestant mode of worship, in

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order to substitute in its stead the catholic religion; or were they endeavouring to compel the protestants to conform to any one single article of their faith obnoxious to them; they might then in some degree be justified on their own principles; but this is by no means the case: the catholics of these realms are only petitioning the legislature to place them on a level with the protestants, in respect to all their civil rights, privileges, and emoluments.

I am well aware that there are many intolerant protestants to be found within these realms, who maintain that no civil power should be allowed to the catholics in this country. Upon what plea of justice, equity, or policy, can so

monstrous a doctrine be supported ? The catholics are not the intruders ; and have they not for these last three centuries back displayed as much loyalty, and fidelity, to their king, and country, as the protestants ; however some few individuals among them may have been convicted of being concerned in some most horrid and detestable conspiracies, as the Rye-house and gun-powder plots, &c. ? But I must here observe that only seven persons, of no note, and they, I believe, not all catholics, were found guilty of the gun-powder plot, and eight other persons were convicted of being privy to it ; and thus only fifteen persons could be proved (after the fullest investigation) to have been any way implicated in this black, and

demoniacal plot. What a crying injustice, therefore, on the part of the protestants, is it not, to accuse the whole body of the catholics in the kingdom of being concerned in this horrid plot (which they also nick-name the popish plot), when they were as ignorant, and innocent of it, as the protestants themselves? And I can safely assert all the other plots charged on them are equally groundless. I here call on the protestants to prove these gross and calumnious charges thus brought against the whole body of the catholics, and if they are unable to substantiate them, then to disavow them.

HAVE not the catholics of the present times, who have chanced to have been employed aboard the fleet, or in

the British army, in conjunction with the protestants, shewn as much zeal, alacrity, and bravery in fighting the battles of their country as they have ? Why then are the brave Irish catholics continued to be enlisted into the British service, under the express permission of being allowed the free practice of their religion, in consequence of the act of the Irish legislature, past some years since, granting to them that desirable privilege ! but who have no sooner put on their regimentals, and been sufficiently drilled to appear in the ranks, then they are marched off from their Sunday parades, to the nearest protestant parish church, and there compelled to hear divine service, and never more allowed to attend in the catholic chapels,

the worship of their religion ; and are thus deprived of a right they are legally entitled to, and which they had stipulated for on entering the service?

I must here observe that these are not times calculated to sanction such double dealings towards so very large a portion of the population of these realms as is formed by four millions of Irish catholics, constituting, on a moderate computation, one-sixth of the aggregate population of the whole united kingdom of Great Britain. Such unjustifiable proceedings can only tend to increase, and irritate, the very universal discontent that already reigns in the minds of the catholics of Ireland, which nothing less than total emancipation will ever fully do away.

IT is well known that during the period that Ireland possessed an independent legislature of its own, it enacted several laws in favour of the Irish catholics, relieving them from many disabilities that by law they were then subject to; and also granting to them privileges, that the laws of their country heretofore debarred them from enjoying: such as voting at elections; holding certain specified employments; and offices of emolument under government. And among other things, the catholics were then permitted to enter the army on the Irish establishment, with liberty to practise their religion, and to hold all ranks in it under that of commander in chief, as I have above alluded to.

THESE judicious and liberal laws were only co-extensive with the jurisdiction of Ireland : when, therefore, a regiment which had been on the Irish establishment, was ordered over to do duty in England, the catholic officers in such regiment became liable to all the penalties that the English catholics are still subjected to, from the disgraceful penal code that at this day still remains in force against them : in fact, they hereby become illegal officers. So palpable an absurdity soon became evident, and it is well known that the late able and enlightened ministry were dismissed from office solely on account of the generous and noble endeavours they made while in power to do it away, and to extend those beneficial

laws to the catholics and dissenters throughout the united kingdom:

SUCH a ministry, in my opinion, merited a far different kind of treatment from this ; they should have been continued in office, and complimented with the thanks of the nation, along with the heart-felt sentiments of gratitude of an immensely numerous class of individuals, that would have been thus benefited and relieved from the odious and unsufferable oppression they at present labour under ; and I am confident that these will be shortly found to be the only means left of saving the nation from becoming, by piece-meal, a prey to its mighty and insatiable foe !

THE necessity and urgency of hearty

concord and unanimity among all ranks and descriptions of persons in the nation, in these very alarming times, is self-evident; and the only means by which cordial unanimity and concord can be insured to it, is by granting the measure of catholic emancipation.

WERE I possessed of a secret, and willing to divulge it to government, by which the whole of the immense catholic population of Ireland and of this country could be infallibly induced at once to become converts to the protestant religion, I am well aware that a protestant government would think in that case, that no reward, however great I might value it at, too great for the purchase of it;

because, by such means, a very great physical strength and security would be thereby afforded to the nation at large : but as I am not, no more than any other human being under the sun, possessed of such a secret, and as this cannot possibly be effected by any human power on the earth, it becomes a protestant government to follow in this case, the dictates of reason and common sense, and to endeavour to conciliate the affections, which cannot be forced, of so large a population, by fully granting to them, without any reserve, all their demands : by these means their most hearty co-operation in the defence of the united empire would be insured ; and without such concession, every thing alarming may

be apprehended from their disaffection in the hour of danger. Can it be expected in reason that this cruelly oppressed part of the nation will continue to stand forward on all occasions as heretofore, to fight the battles of its oppressors, and rivet on themselves the shackles of the religious intolerance and persecution under which they have groaned for three centuries past?

By granting the measure of catholic emancipation, the alarms and fears on the score of Ireland would be dissipated; the nation would be enabled to raise immediately an effective army of at least one hundred thousand men, from among the catholics in Ireland; and I will venture to say, of twenty thousand men from among the catho-

lics in England. Moreover, Ireland would then cheerfully become the inexhaustible store-house of recruits for this great army. It might then be left safely under the protection of its own militia and yeomanry, and the whole army thus raised, might become a disposable force: and should any sudden attack be made on its shores, their militia and yeomanry, joined to the spirit of its inhabitants, would empower them to repel any such attempt, or at least to defend themselves till such time as a regular army could be sent to their succour from the mother country.

WERE this most desirable measure of total emancipation once carried, it would revive the desponding hopes of

the nation; it would instil animation, spirit, and confidence into every individual of it; and it would enable it to behold, without dread, the mighty and extensive preparations that are now making on our opposite shores to invade us. And I am in this case confident, should Bonaparte succeed in landing an army, however strong, it would be speedily overcome by an united nation, fighting for every thing that was dear to man—but should the measure be refused, and long delayed, I fear a contrary issue would take place. Remember that by such refusal, you estrange from you the affections and exertions of above four millions of persons, forming at least one-sixth of

the whole population of the united kingdom.

Now, as to the objections to this measure: What are they? They would most seriously, according to some persons' opinions, endanger the protestant religion, particularly in Ireland. To this I say, that it is a political measure of urgent necessity, policy, and expediency, that it has nothing to do with the protestant or the catholic religion; that the catholics of Ireland and England are only demanding their civil native birth-rights, and to be placed on a level, in these respects, with their protestant brethren; and that they disclaim all interference with the religious and ecclesiastical rights of the protestant church; and that they

are not seeking for any thing belonging to it ; and that their own religious tenets debar them from ever holding any post, rank, or place, in the protestant church, from which any interest, emolument, or benefit could accrue to them ; and that they do not desire to substitute the catholic for the protestant religion in Ireland. The great opposition that is made to the concession of this measure in these awful times, appears real infatuation. What ! is religious prejudice and intolerance to be permitted to endanger the very existence of the independence of the nation ? Is it not evident to every man, that should Bonaparte succeed at any time, (under these circumstances of irritation) in landing an

army of twenty or thirty thousand men, in Ireland, which is a thing by no means impossible, considering the casualties of the seas. In that case it is to be seriously feared that his armies would be immediately joined by the whole mass of the discontented population of that country, which would render Ireland an easy conquest to him. Should such a disastrous event ever take place, the speedy destruction of Britain must infallibly ensue. And can it be supposed, that were he to land on the British shores, and conquer the country, that he would allow the ecclesiastical establishment of the protestant church in these realms to remain entire and unmolested? No! He has not spared the dignities

and revenues of the catholic church in his own dominions ; much less would he spare those of the protestants in this country. I may safely then, venture to predict, that he would immediately seize on all the property, revenues, and livings, of the protestant church—send adrift, without any provision, its bishops, dignitaries, and clergy, and divide their spoils among his generals, dependents, and followers, but without further molesting the protestants in the free and uncontrolled exercise of their religious worship, on account of their differing from the holy catholic religion, established in his own dominions : nor would he subject them to penalties and disabilities for professing such tenets.

No ! I am persuaded, the mighty conqueror of the continent of Europe entertains in his mind no such illiberal, intolerant, and contracted notions of selfish, bigoted, religious policy. Had his vastly capacious mind been imbued with such contracted ideas, he would never have dared to undertake the great achievements he has already performed. He has granted religious emancipation to all christian sects, and to every denomination whatever of dissenters, in all the different kingdoms his great armies have subdued : and the very Jews, the most degraded of all sects, he has not only emancipated, but has moreover shewn to them singular marks of favour. This great, liberal, and en-

lightened policy, will at all times insure to him the affections of myriads upon myriads of persons, who may chance to have been educated in a different mode of worship from that of the ecclesiastical establishment of their own native country, or from that of their conqueror. The British nation should not, on this occasion, be above taking a lesson from its great adversary, and grant at once *catholic* emancipation. *Fas est ab Hoste doceri.*

THE present feeble and puny British ministry should endeavour to divest themselves from their present illiberal and contracted ideas of governing a great and free nation, which is at present struggling to divide the empire of the world with its conqueror, and ac-

quire more enlightened and enlarged notions on the totally changed state of the affairs of the universe: but this, I fear, cannot be expected from the present men in power. Were the late illustrious and enlightened ministry to be again called into office, the nation then would soon see all this realised, and far more. The present puny, rash, and inconsiderate ministry are thought by many persons to have shewn, on a late occasion, a very considerable degree of vigour in their attack upon Copenhagen, and the seizure of the Danish fleet. They are even termed by their dependents, the vigorous ministry! In my opinion, whatever vigour they have hereby shewn, in attacking, unawares, a defenceless ally, they have disgraced the nation by

committing an act, that I fear they never will be able to justify. In what else they have ever shewn any vigour, I know not, unless it be in their obstinate resistance to the measure of catholic emancipation, so evidently necessary for the future safety of the nation.

THE late ministry, on the contrary, composed of all the most distinguished families in the realm, no less remarkable for their high rank, ancient nobility, and great landed property, than for their enlightened talents and great abilities; yet the bug-bear of No Popery! was enabled to overwhelm this mighty phalanx. Such is the power of religious prejudice in this supposed liberal and enlightened nation. However they brought forward during the very short

period they were in office, the following great and truly beneficial plans : First, The total abolition of the disgraceful African slave trade; which abolition the great minister, Mr Pitt, had been seventeen years striving in vain to bring about, they completely effected during that very short period. Secondly, they brought forward a plan of carrying on the war without any additional taxes. Thirdly, a plan to new model the court of sessions in Scotland, and assimilate more its laws to the laws of England, by extending to it the right of having juries, as in England, in all trials of criminal and civil transactions, a thing much wanted in that part of the united kingdom. Fourthly, a new

and very advantageous mode of inlisting for only seven years, for the regular army. And fifthly, the great plan of catholic emancipation. Their sudden, unexpected, and ever to be regretted dismissal from office, put an end to these four last plans, yet, nevertheless, they are highly entitled to the heart-felt thanks of all the catholics of these realms, (who should on all occasions, give them their utmost support) for the exertions and sacrifices they have made on their account, and which they have equally continued since their dismissal from power; and that whenever this desirable measure may take effect, its success must be entirely attributed to them.

IT is well known that the present ministry came into office, pledged to oppose the measure of catholic emancipation to the utmost; and that several of its members have been rash and imprudent enough to declare in parliament, that this measure should never be granted to them. This menace, I can assure these persons, will never deter upwards of four millions of loyal subjects, and steady friends to their country, from constantly demanding entire redress from their present state of oppression, in order to become useful and effective protectors of it, in conjunction with their fellow-countrymen. This injudicious and irritating threat will serve to shew what able politicians now govern the nation. It has

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been reported that at least two leading individuals of the present administration, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Secretary of State for foreign affairs, have become converts to the measure: I hope for the sake of the nation, this report will shortly hereafter prove to be well founded.

THE catholics of these realms are represented by some of their protestant fellow countrymen, at least those of Ireland are, as a class of people grossly ignorant, illiterate, superstitious, idolatrous and indigent, wishing for no further liberty than what they at present enjoy. Abuse is no answer to argument: in refutation of this charge, I will here quote a passage or two from a small pamphlet written by an Irish catholic, entitled a
 “ Preface to an accurate Copy of the Irish

catholics' Petition ;" and were I now to quote passages from all the numerous Irish catholic writers on this subject, (and I am astonished those of England follow not their example,) I should now have an easy task indeed ; as in that case I would have only to transcribe what had already been published ; but my motive for engaging in this undertaking is to call the attention of the British public particularly to the grievously oppressed, cruel, and neglected state of bondage of the catholics of Great Britain. He writes, " The catholics of our time are active, vigorous, public spirited, intelligent, and opulent." In another place he observes, that " To obstruct all the paths of emulation and ambition, to repress all elevation of

mind, all the energies of character in a great people is not to tolerate." And to some objections made against them he says, "The objection is, catholics admitted to command, might still be accompanied by their sectarian feelings: it supposes first these feelings to exist among them in a great degree, which is really inconsistent with fact; and it supposes in contradiction to most common and obvious observations, that a man engaged in a course of military service, forming new habits and enlarged associations, could still preserve the dispositions of a sectary, contrary to the activity of his life, contrary to the favourite wish and hope of enterprising men, promotion and the flattering notice of their superiors. If you

dreaded in a young man the prevalence of these dispositions ; if you wished to detach him from them, or to extinguish them altogether, you would place him in a British man of war, or regiment ; you would engage him in various and active pursuits, and present to him views of ambition. No narrow bias of this nature could possibly maintain its ground against that change of objects, and against the habitual conversation and example of men of widely different impressions : if you desired to promote in any individual these dispositions, you would set him fullenly in a retired and domestic life, to brood over his privations." Are such writers illiterate ?

I will now quote two or three pas-

sages from a very able protestant writer on the present affairs of Ireland. Parnell, in his historical apology for the Irish catholics, to prove that they are not the bigots they are falsely represented to be by their countrymen on this side of the water. He says, "The Irish catholics bigots! The Irish catholics are the only sect that ever resumed power without exercising vengeance."

"A still more striking proof that the Irish Roman catholics in Queen Mary's reign, were very little infected with religious bigotry, may be drawn from their conduct towards the protestants when the protestants were at their mercy. They made a wise and moderate use of their ascendancy; they

entertained no resentment for the past ; they laid no plans for future domination."

"WE are not to imagine, that because the Irish catholics long felt very little interest about their emancipation from degradation, that the catholics then felt very little upon entering on it ; on the contrary, just that degree of rage and indignation which the Irish protestants, spoiled by power, would now feel, if their churches were shut up ; if they were compelled to go to mass ; if they were declared incapable of holding any offices of trust and emolument ; if they were driven from the privy council ; just that degree must the catholics have felt, (and still feel) when for the first time they were

discountenanced and persecuted by government." I will at present refrain from giving any more quotations from this gentleman's publication, highly meriting the attention of the protestant public; intending as I do, inserting herein a copious appendix from it.

THE catholics are moreover accused by the protestants of paying no regard to the sacred obligation of an oath, where their religion is concerned; and that their bishops and priests have the power, in such instances, of absolving them from complying with it. I am really surpris'd that any protestants whatever, can confidently, and without blushing, bring such an accusation against them, when they must well know that it is only a few oaths that

debar the higher ranks among the catholics from fitting in both houses of parliament: a privilege too, which they are at present so anxious to obtain; therefore, if such a power existed in their church, they would avail themselves of it. I will here quote on this subject a passage or two from a late publication of one of our catholic bishops, entitled *An inquiry into certain vulgar opinions concerning the catholic inhabitants of Ireland*: by the Rev. J. Milner, D. D. F. A. S. It is as follows:

“ But sir, to be serious, I beg you will observe that the test oaths against catholics, have completely answered their purpose in keeping them out of parliament, benefices, and places, and

subjecting them to a thousand inconvenient and grinding laws.

“ THIS incontestible and shining fact will for ever demonstrate the religion the catholics attach to the obligation of oaths ; and *that their church* does not furnish them *with any remedy* for escaping from it.”

I will now here insert an article on the pope's supposed deposing power, from a small pamphlet entitled, A catholic misrepresented and represented, twenty-first edition, which I most strongly recommend every protestant in these realms to read, who may wish to be informed of the real tenets of the catholic's creed : the price does not exceed a shilling.

“ OF THE DEPOSING POWER.

“ THE catholic misrepresented believes that the pope has authority to dispense with his allegiance to his prince, and that he needs no longer be a loyal subject, and maintain the rights, privileges, and authority of his king, than the pope will give him leave; and that if this mighty father should think fit to thunder out an excommunication against him, then he shall be deemed the best subject and most christian, that shall take up arms against him, and make him a sacrifice to Rome: so that there can be no greater danger to a king than to have catholic subjects, he holding his life among them only at the pope's pleasure.

“ IT is no part of the faith of the catholic truly represented, to believe that the pope has authority to dispense with his allegiance to his sovereign, or that he can depose princes upon any account whatsoever, or give leave to their subjects to take up arms against them, and endeavour their ruin. He knows that the deposing power has been maintained by some divines of his church, and that it is, in their opinion, annexed to the papal chair. He knows, likewise, that some popes have endeavoured to act according to this power ; but he also knows, that this doctrine is so far from being looked upon as an article of the catholic faith, that it is as earnestly opposed by the French catholics, as it is by the

English protestants; and as for any danger arising to kings from having catholic subjects, it is very well known that princes in catholic countries sit as safe on their thrones, and enjoy as much peace and security as any other princes whatsoever; and that the catholics here in England can give as good proofs of their loyalty, and that also to protestant kings, as the best of those that clamour so loudly against them."

I think that these few quotations will prove sufficiently to the minds of all candid protestants, who may chance to read this publication, that many of the accusations charged on the creed of the catholics of these realms, are totally

groundless. I must again refer the persons among them, who may be still desirous of further information on this subject, and to be made acquainted with the refutation of many other equally groundless charges brought against the professors of that religion of superstition, ignorance, image worship, idolatry, &c. &c. to the above-mentioned pamphlet, which treats upon these subjects, and to a very lately published pamphlet entitled, An answer to the bishop of Durham's visitation charge to his diocese, in 1806, written by a very able divine of the catholic persuasion; and also to every catholic priest living within these realms, for they are all competent and ready to give a justifiable answer to every ques-

tion that can be put to them on these matters.

BUT I will now suppose, for argument's sake, that all these groundless charges were true, as I am well aware that many thousands of, I will not say ignorant, but blindly prejudiced protestants, sincerely believe them to be. Now even suppose that this was the fact, I would ask, will speculative opinions, which are perfectly harmless in their nature, justify any government whatever in persecuting the holders of them? Every candid person must here answer in the negative—certainly not : and much less, when these gross and calumnious charges are proved to be completely groundless. I will here close this subject, as I feel myself un-

qualified, and deprecate entering into the wide field of polemics, which I leave to persons of far superior talents and abilities, whose province it is to treat of such subjects.

I will now endeavour to lay before my readers some few of the many penalties, restrictions, disabilities, hardships, and degradations the catholics of these realms are still subject to, at least those of Great Britain are. Many protestants affect to say, the catholics have at present no reason to complain of harsh treatment and persecution from them. In the first place, the catholic officers in the navy and army, it is well known, are liable to very severe and heavy penalties for continuing to hold their com-

missions without taking the qualification oaths and tests; and there are many officers now in the British service, both of Irish and English subjects, of this description, but particularly of the former. The catholics of Ireland conceived, (when by an act of their own legislature, sanctioned by the British government, which pledged itself to cause to be enacted, speedily, a similar law in Great Britain) that they were as freely and lawfully entitled to proffer their personal services, in defending their king and country, as any protestants could be. In consequence of this act of the Irish legislature, a great number of catholic gentlemen procured commissions in the army, as well as some

few English, on the prospect of seeing a similar law passed in the British parliament ; but for the misfortune of the country, this has never yet been effected. Thus are all the Irish catholics serving in the British army, entrapped by the solemn pledge of the British government, into the service of their country, and rendered, when out of Ireland, liable to all the penalties and disabilities the British catholics are still subject to ; and in fact, become illegal officers. So gross a delusion is a disgrace and scandal to the nation ; it is a dereliction of national faith, that can never be justified. Every succeeding government is bound by the acts of its preceding one, and therefore it should exert its utmost endeavours to

redeem so solemn a pledge, which, if unable to accomplish, it should retire from office, to make room for others who might; and who also should retire if they likewise failed; and no ministry should be found mean enough to act under such degrading circumstances, however flattering the great emoluments of office may prove. Even had a similar law been enacted in the British parliament (in favour of catholics) to that passed by the Irish legislature, still it would have been clogged with some very degrading restrictions upon them: such as that no catholic should ever be entrusted with the chief command of an army on any occasion whatever, although they were hereby empowered to hold

the rank of colonels, and even of generals in it. Mean, low, little, contracted protestant prejudice! What! is the old veteran general, who may have been toiling during the whole course of a long life, under the hardships, privations, and perpetual dangers of a military profession, at last to be discarded with dishonour, and not to be trusted, because he may chance to be a catholic? Absurd and contracted notion! Catholic France, in former times, was not so illiberal: it had a Turenne for the commander in chief of its armies, who was a protestant; and other catholic countries on the continent still follow this practice: and why is not the Irish or British catholic native born subject to be trusted on a similar occasion? Has

he not all the same endearing ties to attach him to his king and country that a protestant can have ; of wife, children, estate, and property ? And what motive could be found strong enough to induce him to act with such black ingratitude as to betray so confidential a trust ? Will it be that bugbear, the catholic religion ? That religion teaches him to give to God what belongs to God : to Cæsar, what belongs to Cæsar. If then, he is enjoined by Christ, his supreme and divine teacher, to pay obedience to a pagan sovereign, much more will he be bound to pay obedience to a protestant one.

THIS act of parliament, passed by the late Irish legislature, before its union

with Great Britain, empowered the catholics of that part of the united kingdom, to sit on grand juries there ; to be magistrates ; to hold certain offices and places under government ; but still also clogged with the disgraceful and stigmatizing restriction that no catholic should be entitled to hold any of the following high offices under the crown : as prime minister ; chancellor ; secretaries of state ; or chancellor of the exchequer, &c. &c. and no higher rank in the law department than that of sergeants at law, and king's sergeants. Now I defy any candid protestant to alledge a good reason to justify such odious, and degrading exclusions ; for why should not his majesty be enabled to employ

his catholic subjects in the highest offices and posts of the state, (were he so inclined at any time), whenever he found them, as well as his protestant subjects, possessed of sufficient abilities and talents to discharge the duties of these high and eminent offices of the state? and they are found to be ably discharged by individuals professing the catholic religion, in all catholic states on the continent of Europe: therefore it is evident the profession of that religion does not so far blunt the mental faculties of its individual members, as to render them unfit to perform any civil duties whatever, any more than does the protestant religion: the catholics feel these restrictions as unmerited stigmas and degradations,

and they will never rest satisfied until they are completely done away. But the catholics of Great Britain, of this day, are placed in a far more degraded situation, with regard to their civil rights, than are their brethren, the Irish catholics; for as the law above alluded to, only takes effect in Ireland, the former are deprived of all the very great advantages the latter derive from it. The British catholics remain still debarred from the army and navy, and from all places and offices of trust or emolument, &c. &c. and even are debarred from voting at elections for members of parliament, which has been allowed in Ireland: these must be owned by every one to be unjust, harsh, severe, and stigmatizing degra-

dations. I will yet hope to see speedily better times, spero meliora, for however much the prejudice of religious rancour still rages in this country, I am persuaded motives of self-preservation will shortly cause a protestant British public to open their eyes, to see that their own interests will be best secured, by attending to those of a degraded and long unmeritedly neglected class of people, the catholics of these realms, and that this can never be effected but by catholic emancipation.

ON what principle of justice, policy, or expediency, can the idea of total exclusion from all power, of the catholics in a protestant country like Great Britain and Ireland be justified? Of what crimes or misdemeanors

have the professors of this religion ever been proved guilty since the protestant persuasion became the established mode of worship in these realms? None! Was not the catholic faith the established religious mode of worship of the country only about three centuries back? Certainly it was. I infer from this that the catholics cannot therefore be denominated intruders; nor do I wish to infer from this circumstance that they have any right inherent in themselves to disturb and overturn the present established protestant mode of worship within these realms, as it is now undoubtedly become the legal establishment of the whole empire, both *de jure* and *de facto*, however it may have been defective in its

first origin ; and I am persuaded no catholic can be absurd enough to attempt to lay claim to any such right. The only right he lays claim to, is to be placed on a level in respect of all civil privileges and advantages a protestant enjoys under such an establishment ; he disclaims all interference in its religious concerns, leaving to him the entire undisturbed enjoyment of them ; but he conceives himself, as a native born British subject, to be equally entitled to participate along with him in all the civil rights of the state, however long he may have been unjustly deprived of them, in consequence of the severe, cruel, and partial laws that a protestant legislature, through motives of prejudice and

groundless apprehension, had been heretofore induced to enact against him, and which the present awful and critical circumstances of the times imperiously call on the nation to repeal. Is the nation, under such circumstances, rash enough to flight and refuse the just petitions of 5,000,000 of loyal subjects, solely on account of their religious scruples; and is too the unanimous exertions and hearty co-operation at this period, of so numerous a body of people, in defence of their country, to be overlooked and despised? For this is in vain to be expected of them, if their petitions be long rejected. Government may at present make whatever terms they please with the Irish catholics, for the

security of the ecclesiastical establishment of that country; but which in these revolutionary times, events might happen to render hereafter, difficult, or impossible.

It is truly astonishing that religious prejudice should be allowed, at this day, to have so huge and over-whelming a sway, as to endanger the very existence of the empire, in this protestant, supposed enlightened, kingdom of Great Britain. For I will maintain, that the sole plea on which the resistance to the measure of catholic emancipation is grounded, is prejudice. It is supposed, I know, that were this conceded to the catholics in Ireland, that they would attempt to seize on all the ecclesiastical dignities,

lands, livings, and properties, and divide them among their own clergy there. No laws human or divine, under such circumstances, would justify them in so doing ; nor do thoughts of this kind ever enter their minds.

THE catholics can by no possible means whatever have any right to the property of the protestant clergy there, more than to the private property of any other individual in the united kingdom ; nor are they by any means themselves desirous of seeing their bishops and clergy endowed with as ample revenues and livings as are those of the protestants ; and I am confident that these virtuous, respectable, and venerable bishops, along with their clergy, do not them-

selves with it, and that a very moderate competency, according to the ranks they hold in their own church, would fully satisfy them. Were the pensioning them by the government hereafter thought an object worthy of the attention of the legislature, or should this not be the case, they would still remain satisfied with the present small pittance they now receive from their numerous, although poor, parishoners. Moreover, the protestants need not fear that the catholics would ever hereafter, attempt to force them by any violent means whatever, to conform to their religious mode of worship, against their wills, as that religion only inculcates christian submission to all lawful authority, mode-

ration, meekness, and mildness, and never sanctions persecution in order to obtain proselytes to its holy doctrines : and indeed a person who becomes a catholic from fear or compulsion, or from any interested motive whatever, is no catholic, or is only so by name ; and were he known to be induced to conform to the catholic creed entirely from such motives, no catholic priest would admit such a person into the catholic church.

It is a matter of real astonishment to me, that the gross and inveterate prejudice that has been so long unjustly entertained against the tenets of the catholic church, and which is still so universally held by all ranks of protestants within these realms, even by

very many of those, who are now, from motives of policy, so strenuous in their exertions for procuring the measure of catholic emancipation, should not yet have subsided. It is a subject well worthy of the investigation of all candid protestant writers, who may chance to be hereafter engaged in treating of polemical controversies of this nature. In my humble opinion, it proceeds from the low and degraded state and condition the catholics of these realms have been reduced to by the protestants; and to the high opinion the latter have of their own religious principles, causing them to despise, as the pharisees did of old, all who differ from them: they, in their pride of

power, not satisfied with enacting severe and unjust laws against all persons who professed themselves to be catholics, added insult to unjust punishment, by describing them in all the laws they passed against them by the opprobrious nick-name of papists, their religion also by the very opprobrious nick-name of popery. In vain will any protestant attempt to justify to me such detestable conduct, by informing me that a papist means a catholic, who holds the pope to be the head of that religion, and that popery itself is only a different name given by the protestants to the catholic religion. I will tell such reasoners, that these nick-names given by them to that religion

and to its followers, are held by all catholics to be odious, and insulting; and that such odious epithets have oftentimes brought on the unoffending catholics of these realms, very great injuries and calamities—witness the riots of London and other places, in the year 1780, engendered by the inconceivably false notions the low vulgar protestants attach to such names. What would be thought of the liberality of an English judge, who, in passing judgement of death against, I will suppose, an American of New York or Charlestown, who had been detected and found guilty of some capital crime, should at that awful time address him by the nick-name of Yankee? And again another reason

for the great prejudice entertained by the protestants against the catholic religion is, that it is ever falsely represented from the protestant pulpits, as inculcating a grossly superstitious and idolatrous doctrine, loaded with numberless trifling ceremonies and mummery. I have already in these sheets noticed the former part of these unfounded charges, and referred my readers to the proper sources, for the full refutation of them; and will only here notice the latter part of them. I freely acknowledge that the catholic religion uses a very great number of ceremonies in the performance of all its solemn religious rites; and what harm is there in it? They are all perfectly innocent in their own nature,

and figuratively represent what effects take place in the souls of the properly and well disposed christian penitents, during the administration of the sacraments: and on other occasions they help, during the times of public worship, to recall the wandering thoughts from the worldly concerns of the congregation, to the solemn duties of prayer, thanksgiving, and adoration, which are then offering to the Supreme Being! However, I will allow that many of these ceremonies might be laid aside, as well as many other parts of the church's discipline, with regard to holy days, and fasts which might be abrogated; but then this can be done only by the authority of the pope and bishops of the catholic church. More-

over, all these ceremonies and matters of discipline are strongly inculcated and fully sanctioned by the authority of the sacred writings. Read Exodus and Leviticus, and other books of the Old testament ; and in the New, read the miracles of Christ, in which he often condescended to use ceremonies : did he not on one occasion use the ceremony of putting his finger in the ear of a deaf man, at the moment he restored his hearing ? Did he not on another occasion use spittle and dust, and anointed therewith the eyes of a blind man, before he restored to him his sight ? Many other instances might be adduced, but these will suffice for my present purpose. I think too,

that the unfounded prejudice entertained by the protestants against the catholic religion would be greatly lessened, if they would but examine into the faults of their own self-extolled protestant religion : for its pride, intolerance, and universally persecuting spirit, would afford me a very ample field for discussion ; but I decline entering on this subject, as I am well aware it would not tend to conviction, but only to create irritation, which I sincerely wish to avoid. Under these impressions, I will take my leave of the public, hoping that the contents of these sheets will tend to alleviate some of the inveterate prejudices entertained by the protestants against the catholics, and convince the public, that no danger

would ensue, either to the state, or to the protestant church, were catholic emancipation immediately granted.

FINIS.

A P P E N D I X.

HAVING lately read the excellent pamphlet entitled, An historical apology for the Irish catholics, written by Wm Parnell, Esq. the concluding pages of which contain many just and appropriate descriptions of the severe sufferings the Irish catholics are yet forced patiently to endure on account of their religion, and many of his sentiments on this subject being in perfect unison with my own, I am in-

duced to annex the following pages from it as an appendix hereto :—

“ AT this present moment, the whole soul of England is bent on reducing the power of the French within reasonable bounds. For this they are profuse of their blood, and their very means of subsistence ; yet to this they will not sacrifice their bigotry. If England had possessed any day these last three months, a disposable army of 60,000 men, to act on the continent, she might have struck a decisive blow ; she might have destroyed Boulogne, she might easily have become mistress of Italy, or she might have hung upon the whole line of French dominion, and held those armies in suspense, which now pour into Poland with such

uninterrupted celerity. Yet double this force might have been raised in Ireland, if the minds of its inhabitants had been conciliated by a constitutional grant of civil and religious freedom.

“AT present, the Roman catholic peasantry enlist with the greatest reluctance; because government sets their religious faith, and their military duty, at variance, and the circumstance of there being no catholic officers in the army, destroys that inclination to enlist, which always arises from serving under officers of the same sect as themselves.

“THE same injudicious intolerance makes the peasantry disaffected; what follows? You cannot trust in the militia, for they are catholics. The yeo-

manry are too few in numbers ; and as they, from the same infection of intolerance, are partizans, in calling in their aid, you run the risk of exciting a civil war.

“ You are forced then, in order to prevent the bad effects of your system of government, to bring an army from England. Then comes the fear of invasion, and your difficulties multiply an hundred fold. You want an additional army to keep down the peasantry, you want an army to awe the militia, you want an army to restrain the intemperate zeal of the yeomanry, you want an army to oppose the enemy.

“ This is no very inaccurate statement of the military necessities of the

English government in Ireland, which arise entirely from their want of wisdom in their political measures. An army without any facility of recruiting; a people for your enemy; a militia that you place no confidence in; a yeomanry whose very assistance is accompanied with the risk of injuring you; and a foreign enemy, ready to take the first opportunity of turning your mistakes to his own profit.

“BUT for a moment reverse your measures: treat the protestants and catholics without any discrimination, assuage the wounded pride of the country, by some modification of the union, and the hearts of the Irish, naturally loyal and affectionate, will yield with

delight to the sentiments of zeal and duty towards the government.

“WHO, that sympathized in the expansion of honest gratulation, which broke forth on the Duke of Bedford’s arrival in Ireland, can doubt it !

“WHAT would be the effect ? The yeomanry, strengthened by the accession of all the wealthy and more respectable catholics, and without any apprehension of internal insurrection, would be quite sufficient to defend the country from any sudden invasion, on a small scale. The militia might be sent on foreign service, together with the English army, at present locked up in Ireland, or kept in England from the apprehension of danger in Ireland.

“THE recruiting service, assisted with

the influence of catholic officers, would go on with rapidity, and produce an annual supply, far beyond what is imagined. By these means, an army of at least 60,000 men might be made disposable, and be brought to act against the most vulnerable parts of the French empire: let its losses be ever so great, the means of recruiting it would be nearly inexhaustible; and it is no great presumption, after what we have seen done by a combined army of Irish and English at Egypt, and at Maida, to say, that it would consist of the bravest, and most formidable troops in Europe.

“To this desirable and decisive increase in national strength, there is but the one obstacle, a kind of nursery ter-

ror of the pope, which still clings to our maturer reason.

“ IT is by the extreme of this terror that our opponents are blinded, or they would perceive that we have the same object in view with them, only that we pursue it by very different means.

“ THEY wish to secure the forfeited properties to their present owners ; so do we. They wish to put an end to catholic rebellions ; so do we. They wish to curb the bigotry and intolerance of the catholic religion ; so do we. What means have they adopted to effect this purpose, and have they succeeded ? No. Why then should you be so averse to try an opposite mode of proceeding ?

“ You were possessed of every instrument of influence, of restriction, of terror, and you made ample use of them ; yet the Roman catholics, like the Israelites of old, multiplied under the oppression of their task-masters. If interest has failed to gain one single convert from the most corrupt of the Roman catholics, the desire of political importance from the most ambitious, fear from the most timid, certainly the severe and disqualifying system is radically wrong. On the contrary, it has become a received axiom in modern policy, that sects gain force and numbers by being stigmatized and oppressed, but by being assimilated and adopted by government, their union is relaxed, and their numbers diminish-

ed. Voltaire was a deist, his testimony must, therefore, be considered as impartial; Mrs Barbauld is a dissenter, her evidence is the confession of an enemy.* Both agree that sects only flourish from the distinctive marks and disqualifications which governments attach to them, because no honourable man would quit a discountenanced sect, as his desertion would not be supposed to arise from a change of opinion, but from motives of fear or

* See Voltaire's English letters. Mrs Barbauld's beautiful essay on Devotional Taste.

“That conversion will always be suspected which apparently concurs with interest; he that never finds his error till it hinders his progress towards wealth and honour, will not be thought to love truth only for herself.” Johnson on Dryden's Conversion.

mean interestedness. But when nothing is lost by remaining attached to a sect, and nothing gained by quitting it, its adherents will listen to persuasion, or will yield to fashion, and will naturally adopt that form of religion which is most consonant to truth, or most suitable to the manners of the world.

“ IN this age, when scepticism is affected as a mark of talents, and religious policy enters very little into the usual intercourse of the world, even the protestant religion, divested of many awkward articles of faith, and of all the rigour of church discipline, is lamentably on the decline. We cannot suppose that the doctrines and ceremonies of the catholic religion are more consonant with reason, or more agreeable

to the strong impulse of manners ; surely, then, its flourishing state must be the effect of the political causes to which it is subjected ; of that irritation which prevents indifference ; of those distinctions which make adherence amenable to public opinion ; of those privations which make apostacy base.

“ THE present union and formidable dimension of the catholic body, arise from the injudicious repulsion of government ; as a political party, they could never hold together merely by their own weak attraction.

“ WHAT can be a stronger proof of the truth of this reasoning, than the fluctuation of religious zeal in France ? The Roman catholic religion had there been long established under the

monarchy, and had gradually dwindled into a mere state ceremonial. Persecuted, during the violence of the revolution, it recovered the enthusiasm of primitive christianity; tolerated under the consulate, its zeal abated. Once more established under the imperial house, it has ceased to be an object of interest, and the churches are once more abandoned.*

“IT is not from the efforts of the established church, from its charter-schools, and the aid of penal laws, that the catholics have any reason to apprehend a diminution of numbers, but from a sect, and that sect the methodists. A very obvious fact will sometimes re-

* See Maclean's Tour in France.

main unnoticed, and yet when once pointed out, will be generally acknowledged. This we imagine to be the case with the hitherto unnoticed progress the methodists are making in Ireland against the Roman catholic religion. Their eloquence, their zeal, and astonishing industry in employing the most minute means to propagate their tenets; above all, the judicious use they make of the power of the press, has produced an impression which has evidently alarmed the catholic priesthood. We are very doubtful whether it is an event to be wished: whether the catholic religion is not better adapted to the cheerful temper of the Irish peasantry, than the proud and fullen spirit of methodism; yet we have not

the least doubt, that if the catholic clergy were paid by government, and if the practice and principle of religious restrictions were abandoned, in the course of a few years, a very large portion of the Irish peasantry would be converted to methodism.

“ AT present, the methodists only succeed in cutting off supplies from the established church, and have reduced it to an insignificance, which, compared with its revenues, is quite ridiculous.

“ WHAT then, in the name of consistency, can make the enemies of popery so violent in their opposition to the only measures which can check the influence of the catholic religion? That which will ever make the opinion of the multitude an absurd one, on

abstruse subjects ; the want of capacity and inclination to examine farther than the *apparent* effects of circumstances ; which makes them believe, that scarcity is the effect of regrators and monopolists ; that protecting duties bring home-manufactories to perfection ; that the sun revolves round the earth, or any error which it requires a *chain* of reasoning to refute.

“ BUT whence can arise the opposition of government to the emancipation of the catholics ? Are we seriously to be referred to his majesty’s coronation oath, to his majesty’s scruples of conscience !

“ THERE is at least as much truth in the maxim that the king never dies, as that the king can do no wrong ; and

if the former means any thing, it is that the constitution solely regards the king in a political, never in a personal light: his life is a political life, and knows no dissolution; his acts are considered only as acts of state, for which not the king, but ministers, are responsible: his oath is not his own personally, he is not responsible even for its violation, but his ministers are; it is an act of state, it is a pledge given to the legislature; the performance of which they only can exact, they only can remit, and which an act of theirs clearly *can* remit.

“ THERE has been of late years, a great, an alarming, and a treasonable inroad made upon the constitution, by a set of men, who perpetually introduce

the idea of the king's personality ; of which the wisdom of our constitution has foreseen the danger, and has guarded against it with the most anxious care. For, if that fatal hour shall ever come when the king of England shall be the leader of a party—when he shall be nominally king, and virtually minister—when to the prerogative of the veto, he shall add the power of the initiative—that sacred fiction, that the king can do no wrong, will gradually disappear before the force of imperious circumstances, and responsibility will gradually attach itself to the idea and the person of the king.

“ THIS revolution we believe to be far, very far distant ; nor are we of that class of alarmists who instantly

believe the existence of whatever they apprehend. But foreseeing the calamities that would flow from such a change, we cannot think ourselves too anxious in protesting against the too frequent introduction of the idea of the king's private feelings and interference on great political questions.

“WE shall therefore, with more decency, and more in the spirit of the constitution, consider only the scruples of conscience which may arise in the breasts of his majesty's ministers, or the two houses of parliament, from any inconsistency between the coronation oath, and the repeal of the restrictions on the Roman catholics.

“THERE appears nothing in the literal sense of the oath hostile to the

removal of any religious disqualifications imposed upon any sect, when such disqualifications are found to be detrimental to the empire. But as words may be construed into almost any meaning, we will not stand upon these grounds; but suppose that catholic emancipation is inconsistent with the tenor of the coronation oath.

“WE will now ask, can any obligation, any oath, be valid in the eye of religion and morality, which is grounded on a violation of an engagement more solemn and sacred? There can be no doubt of the reply: Certainly not.

“THEN we ask, how can the government plead the coronation oath to perpetuate measures that were enacted

in violation of the solemn treaty of Limerick ?

“ THAT treaty remains a monument of the most flagrant perfidy that ever disgraced a nation ; upon the faith of it, the Irish catholics gave up that power and influence which you neither will, nor can restore to them. And till that treaty is fulfilled in its most liberal sense, no ingenuity can remove the stain of deliberate perjury from the character of the English nation.

“ SURELY it is a conscience which will strain at gnats, and yet swallow camels, which stickles for an oath of ceremony, doubtful even in the meaning of the animus imponentis ; and yet will be content to violate a compact so

important as the treaty of Limerick, for which you have received your consideration, and on which millions rested their confidence and their interests.

“ SURELY the conscience of ministers might be affected by the violation of those pledges given to the catholics at the time of the union, (it signifies not whether expressed or implied;) surely they might feel compunction at betraying a nation to dishonour, and then with-holding from her the paltry recompence that bribed her to her disgrace.

“ THE men who perpetuate a crime, commit it; and as long as the present or any ministry continue the restrictions on the Irish Roman catholics, they are deeply responsible for a gross

and dishonourable breach of common faith and honesty. It is in vain they attempt to shelter themselves under the plea of the king's personal feelings. It will not be readily supposed that his majesty, whose principal glory will hereafter rest on the repeal he has made of the severer penal statutes in Ireland, who has seen the happiest effects in promoting wealth, and the security of property, flow from that repeal, it will not be readily supposed that he can be actuated by the illiberal spirit which his self-named friends, but real enemies, charge to his account. *

* His present majesty repealed the act of parliament, by which Irish catholics were prevented from purchasing property. The same alarm was felt at

“THOUGH we are not inclined in general to violent measures, yet we think that impeachment and imprisonment in the Tower, would be too gentle a punishment for those secret advisers, who have not only unhinged the most delicate springs of the constitution to serve their private views, but have done their best to cast obloquy and contempt on the name of the king—a name which ought never to be compromised on any topic whatever

that repeal, which is now attempted to be raised on account of a still more liberal repeal; and yet none but the best consequences have followed. The large purchases which the catholics have made of the forfeited lands, have removed the insecurity which depressed their value, as long as they were possessed exclusively by protestants.

—ought never to be exposed to the common handling of public disquisition.

“WITH what flagrant and impudent misrepresentations must these men have poisoned the king’s ear, if they have succeeded in making him perversely hostile to the Irish Roman catholics—a body of men who have the strongest devotion and attachment not only to his majesty’s political, but to his personal character, and who would set a value on his majesty’s countenance and favour, only inferior to that which they would attach to the benignity of their God.*

* We have heard Irish catholics, who have had only a glimpse of his majesty’s person on Windsor terrace, speak of him with a fervor and delight, which

“WE are anxious before we conclude, to give the public the means to form a just estimate of the hardship of the privations which the Irish catholics experience, the extent of which is not generally understood, and from the supposed insignificance of which, an argument is sometimes drawn against their repeal.

“THE catholics, by being excluded from all offices of trust and emolument, lose all political consequence in the country ; so that a protestant of seven hundred a year, is more looked up to than a catholic of seven thousand a year.

we never witnessed in an Irish protestant, who only loves his king as a Dublin coal merchant does a foul wind, because it encreases his monopoly.

“ BY being excluded from sitting in parliament, they are deprived of the most precious and most effective guarantee of civil liberty.

“ THIS disqualification, in fact, shuts them out from the subordinate offices which the law permits them to hold ; for all these are places more or less at the disposal of the Irish members of parliament, in order to secure their attachment to ministers.

“ THUS catholics, through the greater part of Ireland, are still virtually excluded from the offices of justice of peace, and grand juror ; and where they are admitted, it is because they have a sufficient number of votes to be an object to the county member.

“ A gentleman's consequence in Ire-

land consists very much at present in being a justice of the peace, a grand juror, and a captain of a yeoman corps. From these situations, the catholics are, for the most part, in fact excluded, and consequently exist in a very painful degree of insignificance.

“FROM the same cause the middling class of Roman catholics are excluded from the very desirable employments of the revenue, the excise, and all petty municipal offices. So complete is the monopoly of civil employments in Ireland, that to be a protestant is almost sufficient to be secure of a competence.

“BUT the catholics may have recourse to trade. It is true ; but under great comparative disadvantages. They are excluded from all corporations,

and are debarred by law from being directors of the bank.

“ It is very plain that this oppressive restriction, subversive of the freedom of trade, as well as of civil liberty, must have a very pernicious effect on the industry of the catholics; and if catholic tradesmen and artizans should be found more addicted to idle and irregular habits than the protestants, it may fairly be ascribed to this very intelligible cause, rather than to the nature of their religion.

“ ANOTHER immediate injury, which the present penal statutes inflict on the catholics, is a great insecurity of property and person, and extreme uncertainty of redress from the laws of their country.

“CATHOLICS cannot be sheriffs or sub-sheriffs ; juries are of course protestant ; and on any trial, where party feelings can interfere, a catholic is generally judged unfairly.

“IT is grown into a proverb among the common people in Ireland, that there is no law for a catholic.

“BUT a still more vexatious train of injuries flow from the influence which these penal statutes have in forming habits and opinions inimical to the catholics.

“GOVERNMENT in fact, is the great leader of the ton, and its caprices and absurdities are adopted by the public, with all the rage and fervility of fashion.

“THE English government manifest

by their tenaciousness of the penal laws, that they mistrust and dislike the catholics.

“ FIRST come the bank directors of Ireland, who, not having the good sense to feel, that as their profession is naturally fordid and selfish, it ought to be counteracted by liberality of sentiment, pass a law, that no catholic shall be employed in any office belonging to the bank, the number of which is very considerable.

“ PROTESTANT families will not in general take catholic servants: every newspaper contains advertisements for servants, signifying that they must not be catholics.

“ IN yeoman corps, with very few exceptions, no catholics are admitted.

“UPON the last rebellion, the principal catholics in Dublin, were anxious to enrol themselves in yeoman corps; they were rejected to a man, by the merchants’ corps, and in general by all others, and were only admitted into the lawyers’ corps.

“IN the country corps of yeomanry, the bigotry of the captains generally excludes catholics; and even when the captains would wish, for the appearance of their corps, to mix a few stout comely catholics in it, the bigotry of the privates interferes to prevent it; as in most instances, they would resign to a man, if such a measure was persisted in.

“IN many towns of Ireland, there

are convivial societies, among whom it is a rule to exclude all catholics.

“ IN many counties, protestants will not visit a catholic, and it is the fashion to speak of them in the most injurious and degrading terms.

“ YET the Irish protestants are not so much to be blamed for these ridiculous and disgraceful habits of domestic dissension; they suffered in fact much by a rebellion which they imagined sprung from catholic bigotry. They suffered still more in apprehension.

“ THEY were too much under the influence of alarm to enquire calmly into the causes of the insurrection, or to consider that a popular commotion excited by contumely, could not be ap-

peased by a continuance of injurious usage.

“BUT the British cabinet, safe and at a distance, cannot reasonably urge the danger of the present moment, as an excuse for continuing a system of insult towards the catholics, blind to all its future consequences.

“WE may disapprove, yet we may still view with some scruples of allowance, the institution of Orange lodges, those great political blunders of those protestant gentry. But the government cannot be excused for countenancing the public celebration of the 1st and 12th of July, and the 4th of November; which every year give rise to the most fatal outrages on the part of the protestants; which are noto-

riously intended by the one party, and felt by the other, as a parade of insulting domination.

“IT requires no great spirit of prophecy to foretel, that if the English cabinet go on preparing every year, more materials for a civil war in Ireland, the public celebration of one of those days, will afford the trifling cause, the little spark, which is ever wanting to make the train of mischief explode.*

“WILL the English cabinet never perceive the important circumstances

* The Duke of Bedford, with that good sense, which if permitted, would have achieved the preservation of Ireland, forebore to countenance the celebration of the Orange orgies, by his presence.

on which all political events are now turning ?

“ WILL they not open their eyes to that incalculable encrease of personal pride which has taken place in the British islands ?

“ CAN they not see that every effort of modern habits, is directed to the gratification of pride and vanity ; and to secure, under some shape or other, the esteem and regard of society ?

“ WILL they never abandon those Scotch principles of policy, which only regard the vulgar interests of men, and neglect the feelings of the human mind, to which the strongest interest is after all entirely subservient ?

“ OF what value is wealth, and all the principles of economy on which it

is supported, but as it afflicts the gratification of personal pride ?

“WHAT kind of policy then is this, which would scruple to plunder the Roman catholics of their wealth, which is of no value, but as a means to gratify their personal pride, and yet will not hesitate to make a direct attack on that personal pride in its most delicate and most irritable organs ?

“IF there is a political maxim established by experience, it is, that it is safer to injure men in their interests, than to wound their pride.

“THE most disagreeable circumstances which the catholics are exposed to, are these testimonies of contempt inflicted on them by their fellow-countrymen, which would not take place,

did not the government of the country declare the catholics to have forfeited its sympathy, and to be unworthy of its confidence.

“ YOU may say, that this want of confidence is merely nominal ; that government in fact, places as much confidence in catholic foldiers and failors, as in protestants.

“ ALLOW, (which is not the case,) that this want of confidence is merely nominal, still when a government calls names, whether good or bad, they become in fact, very grave realities.

“ GOVERNMENT calls a man a lord. This is only a name ; but do not the most substantial effects of consequence and superiority flow from it ?

“ BUT the reverse of any proposition

that is true, is true also in the reverse ; and if government, by attaching nominal honours to men, really invests them with superiority and grandeur ; so by attaching nominal dishonours to men, it stamps upon them inferiority and disgrace.

“ IT is not, therefore, for the sake of political emoluments alone, (though these are fair objects of honourable ambition,) it is not merely to represent the insignificance of their country in parliament, that the catholics look for an equality with the protestants ; this is not the emancipation which informs them with one soul, one interest, one purpose ; what they may not, what they will not forego, is an emancipation from national con-

tempt, from public ignominy, from domestic depredation.

“A catholic suffers the three most poignant feelings, that can touch the human heart.

“THE government of his country passes a vote of censure on him.

“HIS fellow-citizen expresses his contempt for him, and expresses it with impunity.

“THE child of his affection blushes for him, and mourns for himself, when he learns that he necessarily inherits from his father a blot and a reproach, which no private virtues, or mental endowments, can obliterate or conceal.

“How can we torture with this refined barbarity?

“Do not we shrink back at the fight

of a limb being cut off, and feel it in our own marrow? Can we not feel, because the sufferer is a catholic?

“ O hearts of barbarians, of zealots, of protestants ! the flames which made the name of Bonner accursed, the hideous night of St Bartholomew, are not so great a disgrace to the character of man, as your cold contriving bigotry.

“ THEY at least had the excuse, the varnish of religious feeling; they sprung not from selfishness, but from a visitation of fanaticism, as inscrutable as physical insanity. These men merely made a mistake; they worshipped a demon, and thought him God.

“ BUT you, with perfect possession of your faculties, with a calm pulse,

and minds unaffected by the slightest emotion, perpetuate statutes, to gall the best and most honourable feelings of many millions of men, whose sensations of pleasure and pain are exactly of the same nature with those from which your own happiness or misery is derived.

“THE catholics can feel, and do suffer.

“THE very peasantry acutely feel the stigma cast by government upon their sect and their religion. The lowest order even suffer most. The wealthy catholics acquire a degree of consideration and legal security from their property, but the peasantry are left naked to the pelting of the storm,

to all the jibes and jobs of protestant ascendancy.

“ NOT only a protestant lord looks down upon a catholic lord, and a protestant gentleman on a catholic gentleman ; but a protestant peasant on a catholic peasant ; and in proportion as the degrading scale descends, the expression of contempt becomes more marked and gross.

“ NOW, let any man say, can such disqualifications be perpetuated with justice or humanity ; or can they be borne with patience ?

“ CAN we then find too strong terms to expose to Europe, every where else enlightened and liberal, the dull and malignant conduct of the Irish and English protestants ?

“ CAN we find words to express our astonishment, that the English cabinet should become an echo, not to ravings of Bedlam, but to a cento of every thing that is gross, vulgar, and perverse: Dublin guilds, common council-men, aldermen, corporations; fat fools, that have been hitherto non-descripts in the classes of science, literature, and good sense?

“ CAN we too warmly deprecate the dissimulatiofnefs with which every variety of rebellion in Ireland is attributed to the catholic religion, without ever taking into consideration, the injustice with which the professors of that religion have been treated?

“ THE protestants, in their terror of persecution, have become persecutors;

their alarm at catholic atrocities, has made them atrocious ; to hear them speak, one would imagine that they had been the patient and uncomplaining sufferers, from the reign of William till George the Third ; that they had borne this long and cruel test of loyal resignation ; that they had been deprived of property, of arms, of every legal and honourable right.

“ No, it is not suffering, but it is power, it is the pride of artificial ascendancy, it is the jealousy arising from exclusive privilege, that corrupts the understanding, and hardens the heart.”

THE END.

